New-York Daily Tribune.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7, 1872.

Nothing is known of the proceedings before the Geneva Tribunal yesterday. ==== There was a severe storm in England on Monday. The reported resignation of Lord Hatherly is contradicted. ==== A Spanish account of the insurgent losses in Cuba is published. ==== A Cuban privateer is supposed to have touched at Long Cay, Bahama Islands.

Judge Barnard testified in his own defense at the Impeachment investigation. ==== Gen. Farnsworth of Illinois has declared for Greeley. ==== Election riots occurred in Quebec.

A writ of habeas corpus has been granted in the case of another inmate of the Bloomingdale Insane Asylum. ==== Large Liberal meetings were held in the XIIth and XVIth Districts. ==== Tom Bowling won the Thespian Stakes, Albuera the Selling Race, and Midday the Long Branch Stakes at Monmouth Park. ==== Gold, 115⅜. Thermometer, 76°, 86°, 75°.

Judge Barnard took the stand yesterday to testify in his own defense. His evidence, among other less important points, was directed to an explanation of the way in which he was summoned from his mother's deathbed to sign Fisk's orders, and of the way in which he got possession of Erie furniture. The testimony does not seem likely to be of material benefit to his case, and the manner in which it was given, if the reports may be trusted, was well calculated to prejudice him yet more seriously in the eyes of his judges.

So much has been said about the troubles in Pope County, Arkansas, that a candid explanation of them seems necessary. A correspondent of THE TRIBUNE, who has sifted all the facts bearing on this unfortunate business, sums up the case in a letter from Memphis, Tenn., which is published on another page. As he represents the facts, Sheriff Dodson and his posse actually murdered a party of prisoners, and then pretended that they had been attacked by outsiders. The whole story is one of those painful chapters of crime, violence, and lawlessness in the thinly settled portions of the South-West which have done so much to disgrace the American name.

It is, of course, impossible to keep any account of the rapid accessions to the Liberal ranks of prominent men who leave the Grant camp. We have three or four of these to note to-day, among whom is the Hon. John F. Farnsworth, Representative from the IId Congress District of Illinois. Mr. Farnsworth gives the reasons which move him in an excellent letter which we publish elsewhere. Another recruit is the Hon. Thomas G. Alvord of this State; and another is the Hon. M. W. Tappan, an old-time and hard-working Republican of New-Hampshire. Mr. Tappan's letter is a frank and manly production, and will have a good effect among his former associates. This is certainly becoming a very bad year for Grantism.

If American seamen cannot be protected by law, we may as well entirely abandon the field of commerce, in which we now have such small advantage. The new Shipping Commission law, of which we give some account elsewhere, has gone into effect, and it is found that the combined opposition of the old shipping-offices is exceedingly annoying. This was to be expected, because the shipping agents find their occupation destroyed by the operation of the new law. The statute seems to have been wisely framed, most of its provisions being beneficent as well as practicable; and it does not seem possible that it will prove inoperative on account of the organized hostility of the shipping officers. Let the law have a fair chance.

It is evident that a bit of Civil Service Reform is needed in the Executive office in Utah. The Territorial Governor, who is one of President Grant's appointees, and is Manager of a Mining Bureau, fulminates a proclamation against all other mining agencies, and calls attention to the fact that he, "as "Governor of Utah," will certify to reports concerning the value of mining stocks in Utah, and will have such reports signed and sealed with the official signatures of Governor and Secretary and the seal of the Territory. This is a new use for Government officials, and in a normal condition of the country would lead to the instant dismissal of the stock-jobbing Governor. But he trusts to the demoralized condition of the Civil Service, and will hold his place, to the great scandal of everybody.

Lately published reports that Chief-Justice Chase is in a very critical condition, that he is suffering from a complication of acute disorders, and even—so gross have been the stories—that he is fast losing his intellect through softening of the brain, are alike unwarranted and wanton. The Chief-Justice has been suffering, since his arrival at Narragansett Pier, with a slight malarial attack, the seeds of which he probably took with him from Washington, but his brain is as unclouded as ever, and the attention with which he follows public affairs as alert. We forbear some natural expression of the indignation with which all will regard these constant inventions about a statesman who has rendered the Country brilliant and enduring service; and content ourselves with an appeal to the press of the Country to suppress in future reports so baseless and brutal.

Every few days some Pennsylvania oracle gleefully proclaims the adhesion of Gov. Curtin to the Renomination standard—often by telegraph from Europe. They have no authority for these proclamations. Gov. Curtin will bid adieu to Europe next week, and on his arrival in this country will survey the field and decide on his position in the Presidential canvass. Meantime, emissary after emissary, no matter how imposing his status, will lavish his solicitations and his importunities to no purpose. We state these facts to counteract a false impression by which political capital is sought to be created. We have never corresponded with Gov. Curtin since he left his native land, nor has Mr. Greeley; and we cannot guess whether the Cameron-Hartranft Ring will or will not be able to persuade him to grind in its prison-house. We all know, however, that it has not yet done so.

Within 24 hours after the North Carolina election, we published a table of actual and estimated returns of majorities by counties, indicating the election of Mr. Merrimon by a majority of 575. We believed then, and believe still, that this was below the honest result actually attained. Suspicions have been daily growing ever since of a purpose on the part of the Administration leaders to delay the returns from remote counties until there was time to figure up the result, and see what majority was needed to count Caldwell in. The returns now in seem to show Caldwell's election by a majority of 406. Even on this table, as now published, the election of Mr. Merrimon is probable, since the Western counties yet to be heard from are very likely to have honestly cast a vote sufficient to overcome the apparent majority for Caldwell; but the desperation of the Administration leaders and the closeness of the contest are equally dangerous. Whatever the final count may show, we have already gained far more than we expected the day before the election, and have made sure of the State by a handsome majority in November. We believe that we have also honestly carried it now by a majority fully as great as that claimed in THE TRIBUNE twenty-four hours after the election.

AMERICA IN JAPAN.

A curious controversy between the Japanese Foreign Office and the British Chargé d'Affaires at Yedo, which threatened very unpleasant consequences, has happily been settled without a diplomatic rupture. The dispute was whether the Mikado should receive the English representative sitting or standing. It would have very little interest for us but for the manner in which the Japanese got out of their difficulty. They asked the aid of the United States, and after the Mikado had volunteered the compliment of rising to receive an American Admiral and diplomatic agent, the Englishman was received in the same manner. This is substantially what the Japanese have been doing for several years. Driven into opening their country, they have turned away from the European Powers, and invoked our aid to teach them the arts of western civilization and fit them to cope with their rivals in the society of nations which they are about entering. They have asked us for teachers, ship-builders, engineers, farmers, and craftsmen of various kinds, and have come to us in all things for advice.

It was one of the magnificent opportunities of the present Administration that this wonderful Eastern land should have thrown itself upon our honor in such an extraordinary manner; and by a wise, humane, and patriotic course we had a chance to earn the gratitude of the whole world and a magnificent place in history. It may be worth while to inquire how we have executed our great trust, and what sort of a figure, when the history of this revolution comes to be written, the American tutors and protectors of Japan will present beside their protegé.

The selection of persons to undertake the direction of various public and private enterprises in Japan has been left entirely to the good faith and discretion of the United States Government. In only a few instances has this confidence been duly honored. One of the most prominent of the gentlemen whom we sent out to civilize our good friends distinguished himself during the first month of his residence in Yedo by his public debaucheries, getting very drunk, and complaining loudly that he had been robbed in a place where he had no business to be. The Agricultural Commission has broken to pieces. The head of it turned out to be useless, and though some fragments are stranded on the island of Yezo, the Japanese Government has lost all confidence in it, and all expectation of its ever doing any good. Other incapable persons have been chosen for Japan merely to oblige political friends or to get rid of importunities. And Minister De Long, we are assured, has allowed himself to present and enforce fraudulent claims against the Japanese Government, some of which, we understand, have actually been paid in consequence of his pressure. It is evident that the Administration does not appreciate its opportunity of doing good in this matter, nor comprehend its responsibilities.

PUBLIC WORKS RESUMED.

For nearly a year the principal public works, which originated in the latter days of the Ring, have been discontinued, including the widening of Broadway, the extension and completion of the Boulevard, the rearrangement of some of the smaller parks and squares in the lower part of the city, and numerous minor improvements in the shape of sewers and street openings. Public sentiment in some measure demanded this halt, and the chaotic condition in which the revolution of last Fall left the City Administration made it necessary. Delay has been for many reasons costly to the city and vexatious to property-holders, besides retarding very materially the growth and embellishment of the metropolis. But it has not been without its advantages and economy, and pausing to take breath we can look back and see into what the rule of the Ring was leading us.

It will be among the few praiseworthy things always to be said, and without dispute, of Tweed's misrule as Commissioner of Public Works, that he greatly improved and embellished the city. There are those of the old Ring who claim the credit of the great designs for improving and embellishing New-York, and Mayor Hall is probably entitled to commendation for most of that which is aesthetical in the plans upon which the Ring worked. But the credit for the energy which made these plans successful must be paid unquestionably to Tweed himself. Let him have it freely, for whether he gets the praise or not he must take the discredit of having done all that he did from self-interest, from no nobler motive than to steal. He saw no beauty in the Boulevard; no magnificence in the Riverside; no manifest destiny indicated by the extension of the great avenues beyond Harlem River; no utility in the East River Bridge. He regarded all these projects only as so many schemes by which to enrich himself and rob the city. His plans were on the most extensive scale; unsurpassed in magnitude by the imperial projects which beautified and kept Paris in peace. Moreover, they were for the most part wise and utilitarian; but ridiculously, criminally extravagant.

The halt has given us time to see clearly this much—that while the plans might judiciously be retained, the expenditures for them can be safely reduced. The great schemes of the old Ring for the development of the upper part of the island are in the main good; but with wise, and energetic, and economical direction they can be completed at half their cost under the old reckless management. The Riverside Park is now finally resolved upon, and though its advantages will be felt only by a restricted section of the city and half the cost must be borne by the tax-payers at large, still it is, on the whole, a wise thing to finish. Our columns this morning contain the latest information about the project and the fullest estimates of awards and assessments agreed upon; and we shall from time to time watch the development of the important enterprise. The completion of the work of the Contract Commissioners, which we also fully report this morning, showing what contracts have been approved and what declared invalid, also serves to show the city where it stands with regard to numerous minor improvements. With a clearer understanding of what is needful to be done, the proper authorities can now go to work with vigor and foresight; and there is little for us to urge and insist upon in the interest of tax-payers and property-owners, and the general prosperity of the city, save that the great works to be done shall be directed with economy.

Another enterprise more ambitious and far more costly than the Riverside project, or any of the numerous works which we have lately called attention to, is projected at this moment in one of the public Departments, and a part of it with something of suspicious secrecy. It is a scheme which, in some respects, is questionable, and for this reason should be brought to the attention of the thousands of property-holders directly and the tens of thousands of tax-payers indirectly interested therein. We are not prepared to say that the improvement, as it claims to be, is not wise and necessary, but at any rate it can do it no harm, if it is in all respects proper, not devised for the benefit of a few property-owners at the general expense, to publish, as we shall to-morrow, a full account, with an illustrative map of the whole project.

THE EXECUTIVE EXPENDITURES.

Mr. William A. Richardson, Acting Secretary of the Treasury, in a very ingenious letter which we publish in full in another column, attempts to cast discredit on THE TRIBUNE'S statement that the expenditures of the Executive were $18,709,472 during the first two years of President Grant's Administration, against $12,856,220 for the two years immediately preceding, showing an increase of nearly $6,000,000, or about fifty per cent. Mr. Richardson's first trick is to refer with great pomp and circumstance to chapter and verse of the Treasury reports for the expenditures of the years 1867 and 1868, whereas the two years taken by us were 1868 and 1869, as we stated distinctly in no less than four different places in the brief article in which the comparison occurs. Mr. Johnson went out of office March 4, and the fiscal year ended June 30. If President Grant had been Parsimony incarnate he could not have retrenched much in four months; but, as the record shows, if any injustice is done in the premises, Johnson is the sufferer by our piecing out this year with four months of the new Administration. However, by this bit of legerdemain the shrewd Richardson recovers $3,600,000 of the sum by which Grant's economy runs behind Johnson's. He makes up the rest and comes out $3,300,000 ahead in a manner still more astonishing.

The people of the United States learn from Mr. Richardson, for the first time, that in the expenditures of the Executive in the first two years of the Grant Administration there is included the sum of $5,690,312 04 for the "expenses incident to carrying into effect "national loans." He also tells us that there was expended for the same purpose $3,804,391 in the years 1867 and 1868, but that these sums are not included under the head of the Executive, but appear as separate items under the head of "Miscellaneous." Mr. Richardson reasons that the said loan expenditures ought respectively either to be deducted from Grant's years or added to Johnson's. In either case Grant comes out $3,340,000 ahead. This certainly works beautifully; and here we take occasion to remark, by way of digression, that if we cannot compare the Executive expenditures of one Finance report with those of another without striking on our head when we thought we were safely on our feet, the Finance reports are of very doubtful utility. As a measure of economy we would suggest that their publication be omitted. No wonder the Treasury officials pooh-pooh at defalcations of millions. Millions are as farthings to them. As the materialistic and selfish philosopher Hobbes said of words, these Treasury men may say of millions. Said Hobbes, "Words are the "counters of wise men, but the money of "fools." Millions are the counters of these wise Treasury clerks; they are the money of the doltish people.

A trifling criticism suggests itself to us in the midst of our admiration at the adroitness with which an excess of six millions is transformed into a deficiency of three and a half. And that is the circumstance that in the fiscal years 1870 and 1871 no national loans were negotiated, if we except about $59,669,150 of the new fives of 1881, the charges for which are duly entered in the expenditures for the year 1871, under the head of "Miscellaneous." In the years 1867 and 1868 hundreds of millions of five-twenties were placed, upon which large commissions had to be paid by the Government, in addition to the costs of manufacturing, advertising, &c. Perhaps it is owing to the fact that no new bonds of the United States, with the exception above noted, were issued in the years 1870 and 1871 that the entries of "expenses "incident to carrying into effect national "loans" are not found where we should naturally expect to see them. At all events it is this fact which makes Mr. Richardson's disclosures so interesting to us. Upon referring to his letter again we find, in parenthesis, the explanation that the phrase "expenses "incident to carrying into effect national "loans" means "issuing Treasury notes, fractional currency, &c," and that the increased expenditures for this purpose under Grant were due to the reprinting of "an entire new "series of notes and currency to take the "place of the old issues then in circulation, "which had been called in for redemption in "consequence of their worn out and mutilated "condition, and the numerous and well executed counterfeits in circulation." So the expenses incident to carrying into effect national loans which Mr. Richardson conjures up are not the same, after all, as the apparently similar charges in 1868 and 1869.

Does Mr. Richardson wish us to believe that the manufacture of some $380,000,000 of paper tokens actually did cost $5,690,000? If so, it was an enormous price. Not much can we find in the Finance reports about the cost of doing the Government's business. The Treasurer treats us to endless tables of figures, setting forth the vast quantities of bonds and paper money which he and his clerks religiously destroy every year. He gives us several score of "destruction" accounts, but nowhere does it occur to him to tell us what it costs to manufacture paper dollars. The Controller of the Currency, however, by some strange oversight, does inform us that he expends a certain sum for plates, paper, printing, and other expenses incident to the manufacture of paper money. This item, which sometimes appears in the Secretary's statement of expenditures and sometimes does not, certainly covers the cost of maintaining the currency issued by the National Banks, and, for aught we can discover to the contrary, that of the legal tender and fractional currency also. Now, this item of "plates, special dies, paper, &c., for "printing circulating notes, &c.," for the five years from June 30, 1866, to June 30, 1871, amounts to a sum total of less than $400,000. Neither can we, after a thorough overhauling of the acts of Congress, find any appropriation to cover Mr. Richardson's extraordinary makeweight. The act of March 3, 1869, for "sundry "civil expenses" appropriates $1,250,000, for the year ended June 30, 1870, "for necessary "expenses in carrying into effect the several "acts of Congress authorizing loans and the "issue of Treasury notes," and the corresponding act for the year 1871, passed July 15, 1870, gives $75,000 for the same purpose; making a total for the two years of $1,325,000. The deficiency bills contain no additional appropriations for these purposes. For the year 1867 the appropriation was $2,000,000. By the act of June 30, 1864, which authorized the issue of five-twenty bonds, and also fractional currency and United States notes, the expenses of engraving, printing, preparing, and issuing said notes and bonds was limited and restricted to one per cent of the amounts issued. In the Finance report for the year 1861 the cost of engraving the various issues of Treasury and Demand notes and certificates of stock for that year, when the reign of paper was formally inaugurated, is stated at $14,840 73. The above are such facts as we have been able to collect which have a bearing on the cost of paper money. Without pretending to understand for what purposes the $5,690,312 conjured up by Mr. Richardson may have been expended, we do most emphatically deny that the sum was disbursed for either of the purposes which he indicates. It was neither laid out in manufacturing paper money nor in carrying into effect national loans. We call on Mr. Richardson to be more explicit. If his statement is to be final, we have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be false.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM—THEORY AND PRACTICE.

On the 16th of April last the President sent the following Message to Congress:

WASHINGTON, April 16, 1872.

The Advisory Board of the Civil Service, having completed the grouping contemplated by the rules already adopted, have recommended certain provisions for carrying the rules into effect.

The recommendations, as herewith published, are approved, and the provisions will be enforced as rapidly as the proper arrangements can be made, and the thirteenth of the rules adopted on the 19th day of December last is amended to read as published herewith.

The utmost fidelity and diligence will be expected of all officers in every branch of the public service. *Political assessments, as they are called, have been forbidden within the various Departments;* and while the right of all persons in official position to take part in politics is acknowledged, and the elective franchise is recognized as a high trust to be discharged by all entitled to its exercise, whether in the employment of the Government or in private life, *honesty and efficiency,* NOT POLITICAL ACTIVITY, will determine the tenure of office.

U. S. GRANT.

By the President: HAMILTON FISH, Secretary of State.

A bill for Civil Service Reform, introduced into the House of Representatives by the Hon. C. W. Willard, was defeated by the Administration majority, and the rules and regulations promulgated by the President were denounced by the President's friend, Gen. Butler, as "a slander upon Congress, a "violation of the Constitution, and a wrong "to the Government." Nevertheless the new rules, as reported by the Advisory Board, were accepted by the Executive, and became, until suspended by the same authority which proclaimed them, virtually part of the laws of the service. The 11th of these rules is as follows:

11th. No head of a Department, nor any subordinate officer of the Government, shall, as such officer, authorize, or permit, or assist in levying any assessment of money for political purposes, *under the form of voluntary contributions or otherwise,* upon any person employed under his control, *nor shall any such person pay any money so assessed.*

There has never been an honest attempt to enforce this rule, and there was never meant to be. Gen. Butler was quite right when he called it "a political trick, sprung upon the "eve of a Presidential election." Assessments for political purposes are made as much as they ever were, and we learn from a credible source that the Republican Congress Committee is now preparing circulars and receipt books for a general collection among the Federal office-holders. Whether it will be made openly, or under some thin disguise, we cannot say; but the Administration might as well be frank about it. A letter which we publish this morning explains one way in which the Reelectionists break the rule while pretending to keep it. Circulars are sent to the Department clerks, not in the name of the Congress Committee, but of State Associations, demanding a contribution to the expenses of the campaign. The Washington clerks are all assumed to be members of these associations, and the secretaries or chairmen are bureau officers. Of course it is very well understood what the consequences would be if any man should refuse to pay.

And now to make the farce complete, *The Washington Chronicle,* organ of the President's particular friend, Senator Harlan, gives formal notice to the place-holders of the capital that heresy in the Departments is to be rigorously exposed and severely punished:

"There be many persons in office here who, somehow or other, manage to survive the most radical political changes. It is an active political season that can change an Administration quicker than your wide awake professional can change his coat. We are on the lookout for that class of gentlemen these days, and shall not fail to note any indications in that direction from time to time. Like the sinner 'under conviction' who prayed, 'good Lord, good devil,' they are equally amiable toward Grant or Greeley, not being altogether certain into whose clutches they may fall. We shall take particular delight in announcing all efforts of these political acrobats to maintain their official equilibrium during the trying scenes of the Summer campaign. There are a few who are already practicing in private before their more intimate friends, and we shall watch their progress and give it to our readers, as it cannot fail to furnish interesting reading."

Civil Service Reform in theory says that "honesty and efficiency, not political activity, "will determine the tenure of office." Civil Service Reform in practice says that every office-holder who fails to show his zeal for the President's reelection shall be published as a bad subject, and must face the consequences. Civil Service professions declare that political assessments, "under the form of vol-"untary contributions or otherwise," shall not be levied, or if levied shall not be paid. Civil Service practices compel clerks to pay assessments to their State Associations, and the State Associations turn the money over to the treasuries of campaign organizations. We do not believe this fraudulent pretense of reform deceives a single man in the United States.

MAKING WAR IN THE WEST INDIES.

It will be seen from the letter of Mr. Davis Hatch, which we publish this morning, that when Baez applied to the Johnson Administration for a protectorate over Santo Domingo pending the movement for annexation, Mr. Seward replied that "it would be an act of "war itself." Mr. Seward wanted the island; but he was too well versed in the duties of neutrals and the powers of the American Executive to imagine that President Johnson could legally send a fleet into Dominican waters to interfere in the domestic dissensions of an independent Republic. What President Johnson, however, refused to do, by the wise advice of Mr. Seward, President Grant, consulting, perhaps, those eminent publicists, Mr. Cazneau and Gen. Babcock, did with alacrity. He may be said to have put down the insurrection of Cabral, which Baez could not do alone, and kept a President in power after the people over whom that personage ruled had manifested a strong desire to get rid of him. He did more than this to sustain this ruler, with whom he chanced just then to have a little business on hand; he committed an unprovoked act of hostility upon a friendly power towards which he was bound for many reasons to be courteous and considerate. He sent a fleet into the harbor of Port-au-Prince, to menace the little republic of Hayti, where the colored race was making a gallant experiment at self-government—to menace that republic not for any real or imaginary wrong to the United States, but on account of its relations with Dominica, with which President Grant has no more to do than he has with the relations of France and Germany. All this he did to oblige Baez.

Well, this incident shows how wisely Mr. George William Curtis judged when he wrote in *Harper's Weekly:* "Military heroes, how-"ever pure, however single-hearted, however "noble, are by the necessity of the case ac-"customed to regard their own will as law, "and will inevitably incline to govern a "country as if it were an army. . . . The "spirit which solicits a military head of the "government is . . . . . impatience of "constitutional rule. It is the instinct of "despotism."

SWINDLING ITS READERS.

The N. Y. Times commits forgery—all of course for the good of the cause. A dispatch to the Associated Press, printed yesterday by THE TRIBUNE, *Herald, World,* and other newspapers, gave the following information from Louisville:

"The city election to-day passed off quietly. A large vote was polled. The regularly nominated Democratic ticket was defeated by a very large majority. *The opposition or Citizens' ticket, which was composed of Democrats,* was elected entire."

The N. Y. Times fraudulently altered this dispatch, and printed the latter part of it as follows, heading it "Dispatch to the Associated Press:"

"The regularly nominated Democratic ticket was defeated by a very large majority. *The Republican and Citizens' ticket* was elected entire."

Of course the object of this dishonest alteration, as well as of the falsehood of styling the garbled telegram an Associated Press dispatch, is easily seen. We say nothing more of the morality of such actions; but if the managers of *The Times* understood their business they would know that a newspaper can never afford to tinker the news. A newspaper, however, never does it.

Judge Barnard denied before the Court of Impeachment, yesterday, the report to which one of his friends, Mr. Jerome Buck, lately gave currency, in this city, that the Judge had determined to indulge in the tactics by which Cardozo, through resignation, avoided the consequences of his gross offenses against the law. It will next be in order for the Judge to repudiate his counsel who yesterday used the columns of a New-York paper to threaten the impeachment of the whole Bench of the Court of Appeals in case his client was convicted.

A new reform has been inaugurated in the British House of Commons. Mr. F. S. Powell, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and others, have been urging a bill "to regulate the use of steam whistles in certain manufactories." They desire to prevent the use of whistles for the purpose of summoning or dismissing workmen. Upon this *The Echo* calls for an abatement of the nuisances of bell ringing, and of cannon firing, and likewise of dinner gongs. This, at the quietest, is a noisy world, but we think that quiet nights at least are attainable. Railway companies may have a right to murder their passengers, but they have no right to murder sleep. People with nerves of iron never can be made to understand how those less strongly endowed should be worried by noise, but worried they are nevertheless.

Nobody ever accused President Grant of holding exalted views of the dignity of his high office; but, in a late interview with a reporter of *The Herald,* he is represented as quite capping the climax of absurdity. In substance, he is represented as saying that he really did not care much about being President any more; but people had told hard stories about him since he had been in office, and he concluded he would run again, just to see if a majority of the voters of the country believed them! So we have the whole machinery of the Government set in motion to ascertain whether Grant's reputation for nepotism, lowness of taste, and ignorance of statesmanship is general or special.

Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison suggested a comparison of his labors for the slave with those of Mr. Charles Sumner, which his new-found champions are busy in enlarging. But he and they alike forget the most striking point in his labors. They should tell how completely he surpassed Mr. Sumner by many years of hard work for the avowed purpose of securing the dissolution of the Union.

PARTY INTOLERANCE.

THE OPINION OF "AN AVERAGE VOTER."

To the Editor of The Tribune.

SIR: I have a great desire to say something. Something upon what everybody is talking about; to wit: the condition of the country and National politics. And to say it to a great many people. Not that I think I am competent to teach the people on political subjects, by any means, or because I have the *cacoethes scribendi* or *loquendi;* but I do think there is a great deal of very loose illogical and irrelevant thinking, talking, and writing upon these things, and being more anxious to be instructed in my duties as a citizen than to have my enthusiasm kindled, or my prejudices fed, I am quite tired of it all. It seems to me possible, or that it certainly ought to be possible, to treat questions of National politics with a greater degree of fairness and freedom from prejudice than we are in the habit of doing. For assuredly there are citizens, and, as I apprehend, a very large number, who are thoughtful and serious even upon the political issues of the time, who have some sense of duty and responsibility in these matters, and who may safely be talked with as reasoning men. Hearing and reading everywhere so much of chaff and so little of sober talk upon politics, I have been wrestling for some time with an impulse to cry out in some public place or manner: "Oh, hush this painful, pitiful gabble; let us stand still a moment, and consider whether this be a noisy raffle for plunder and place or a grand act in the government of a continent." And what I especially desire to say to the people who are talking about these things is just this: that it is not worth while to get ourselves angered or excited or even enthusiastic over them because we happen to be Democrats or Republicans or Liberals, or for any reason indeed. The majority of us certainly have no interest except to have the country well and wisely governed. Let us discuss that question calmly, and without excitement or anger, and keep always in mind the fact that human judgment is very fallible, and that so long as there is the remotest shade of possibility that our neighbor who differs from us may be right and we wrong, we may as well treat him kindly and tolerate his divergence. By all means let us believe each other honest so long as we can. And then I think it possible for all quiet, thoughtful citizens to get down to the true philosophy of the situation, and, if we differ, to know at least the reason and ground of our differences.

I am the more earnest in favor of catholicity and tolerance from having myself experienced something of the opposite spirit. Having voted the Republican ticket since 1856, and before that time the Whig ticket, but not being entirely satisfied with the Administration of President Grant, I found myself, some little time ago, pondering the anomalies of the situation, and deliberating somewhat doubtfully as to my duty. I very shortly became, as I discovered, an object of suspicion to those with whom I had been politically associated; men who had hardly given the political complications a serious thought sneered at me as a "doubtful voter;" some, who could not tell the difference between the parties except in their names, spoke unkindly of me as a man who "did n't know his own mind;" some excellent men pitied my weakness, but said perhaps I "meant well." Some called me a grumbler, and some who held office did not hesitate to stigmatize me as a renegade. All this struck me as very queer; I had done these people no harm, had not as yet made up my mind that I was at odds with them; was only considering it. It was a very unpleasant revelation to me. But it seemed to me, on the whole, to belong to my duty as a citizen to try to do my own thinking even if I should go wrong in it, and so I have endeavored by such processes as I was capable of to work through it. I hope I have learned a lesson of charity from this little experience. You newspaper people do a great deal of thumping and whacking at each other and at all who differ from you, and I do not know that there is much to choose between the parties in that regard, but it does not seem to me to be at all necessary or to do any good. Why not let a man think for himself once in a while, and not impute bad motives to him if he differs from a caucus?

That is about the thing I wanted to say to the gentlemen who are disputing over politics and candidates—let us be tolerant and charitable. When we come to that we shall sweep away a world of petty things from the surface of debate, and get a clearer insight and truer views of duty.

Pricked to it by a sense of personal wrong and injustice at the hands of men whom I had given no occasion for it, I wrote a little screed on the subject for our county paper the other day. The editor treated me quite civilly when I submitted it to him, and said they were his views in the main, but declined the communication for the reason that he feared it would be offensive to the State Committee, who he said were very sensitive just now about anything that might disturb the harmony of the party. He was consulting his business interests of course, but I was surprised to learn that the Committee exercised so rigid a censorship over the newspapers. It would be an exaggeration to say the press of the country is fettered, and yet there seems at first blush to be something in this control of the press by partisan committees who suppress fair discussion not quite consistent with our boast of a free press. The editor was at liberty, to be sure, to publish what he pleased, but I am told that last year when he criticised his party on the eve of an election the Committee made it very unprofitable as well as uncomfortable for him. So it is not to be wondered at that he is a little timid about printing anything that may disturb the harmony of the party. I was quite jostled in my mind by the discovery that the contents of my weekly newspaper have to be sifted down to me through a political committee. It shows that they have a high regard for my mental and moral digestion I know, but it seemed somehow to be such a reflection on my intelligence that I did not esteem it complimentary at all.

And while on this subject, I am reminded of a little circumstance, a day or two since, in my own neighborhood. A neighbor of mine who has been at times quite active in politics, and has served once or twice, I believe, as committeeman for the town, brought to me a letter which he had received from the member of the State Committee for this county or district, asking him to report certain facts pertaining to the canvass, and, among others, how many TRIBUNES were taken in the town, and whether they could not be changed for an Administration organ. My neighbor is a very earnest Republican, and I suppose intends to vote for Grant but he has some notions about propriety, and withal a disposition to be self-respecting, and he commented on what he called "this insulting circular" in somewhat warm terms.

"I don't know that I've ever done anything mean or sneaking, that this fellow" (he did—he called him "fellow"—he was so warm about it) "should commission me to go spying round my neighbors' houses to see what they read, and to try to build up the business of one newspaper at the expense of another. I feel insulted. I never did such a thing in my life. Why, I'm a Protestant, and opposed to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic, one of Church; but do you suppose if I learned that my brethren in the Church was reading a Catholic periodical I would go to him to induce him to stop it and substitute a Protestant paper for it? Never! I should be ashamed of myself to think of it."

I asked my neighbor if this was not customary, and if it was not practiced throughout the State.

He said he had understood this was part of a general plan, and that every member of the State Committee was engaged in it, but he had never known such a thing to be done before.

I asked him if he thought, upon the whole, it was entirely safe to continue an administration or a party in power that would deliberately arrange a plan through the ramifications of the party organization in the whole country for the suppression of a newspaper that opposed it.

"Do you remember," said I, "any previous organ-